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The American FEDERATIONIST

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JUNE, 1952

WILLIAM GREEN, *Editor*

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People Last

The Duke of Argyll has explained to me in his "Reign of Law" with what nice adaptations the feathers on a bird's wing are designed to give it the power of flight; he has told me that the claw on the wing of a bat is intended for it to climb by.

Will he let me ask him to look in the same way at the human beings around him?

I will ask him to consider the little children growing up in city slums, toiling in mines, working in noisome rooms; the young girls chained to machinery all day or walking the streets by night; the men who all life long must spend life's energies in the effort to maintain life! He should consider them as he has considered the bat and the bird.

I met accidentally in Scotland, recently, a lady of the small landlord class, and the conversation turned upon the poverty of the Highland people.

"Yes, they are poor," she said, "but they deserve to be poor; they are so dirty. I have no sympathy with women who won't keep their houses neat and their children tidy."

I suggested that neatness could hardly be expected from women who every day had to trudge for miles with creels of peat and seaweed on their backs.

"Yes," she said, "they have to work hard. But that is not so sad as the hard lives of the horses. Did you ever think of the horses? They have to work all their lives—till they can't work any longer. It makes me sad to think of it. There ought to be big farms where horses should be turned out after they had worked some years, so that they might have time to enjoy themselves before they died."

Henry George, 1884.



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PRODUCTIVITY

—Source of Our Strength

By BORIS SHISHKIN

Economist, American Federation of Labor

WHEN we produce goods and provide services we create wealth. Here in America a nation of some 150,000,000 people turns out each year twice as much as does Western Europe with 275,000,000 people.

We have had many advantages. For one thing, our land is rich in natural resources. Timber, iron, copper, oil and a vast number of other raw materials were right here, within our boundaries, waiting to be developed. And develop them we did. While most European countries have had to depend on imports from abroad for many of their industrial materials, we have found most of ours at home.

Another tremendous advantage has been the "unitedness" of the United States. Within our land we have had no language barriers and no customs walls. A manufacturer in Michigan could sell his products in Oregon, Louisiana or Maine if he wished. A California fruit grower did not have to worry about a "balance of trade" between his produce and the machinery he needed to buy in Michigan, as does the Italian grower when he trades with Switzerland or Belgium or with us.

The third great advantage has been our competitive enterprise. While the competitive spirit provided the drive for new, better and cheaper methods of production, we have devised laws to protect competition from the stranglehold of monopoly.

Our fourth advantage has been the gradual development and growth of organized action on the part of American labor toward the goal of fair sharing in the fruits of production. The machine brought with it the soot

and the grime of industrial living. In its wake came exploitation. The constant drive for longer hours. The inexorable pressure for lower wages. These had to be counterbalanced. And the leverage for counterbalancing came with collective bargaining.

While labor's organized action did provide this vital tool for more equitable sharing in the industrial progress, action through voluntary self-organization of workers also made possible more balanced growth of our whole industrial society. From the Nineteenth Century drive for free public schools to the Twentieth Century drive for social security and better housing, it was labor's constant effort that helped translate greater production into better living.

WHEN a factory which has been producing 1,000 units a day can turn out 1,200 units a day while employing the same number of workers the same number of hours, we say that *productivity* has been increased 20 per cent. This may be made possible by better machines, better organization of production, more skillful production methods or a combination of these and of other factors.

Production is the volume of output itself. Greater production may be the result of adding more workers or working longer hours. It is not necessarily the result of greater efficiency. With the help of more men and longer work schedules, it may be achieved even when efficiency is lowered.

Productivity is the amount produced per man-hours; in other words, the volume of production per man per unit of time. Industrial productivity is the measure of production per man

per hour. A change in productivity does measure the change in industrial efficiency; rising productivity means that production is more efficient and less costly.

When the same number of workers, working the same number of hours, can turn out more units of the same product, the unit cost of production goes down, for each unit costs less to produce. If the cost of producing, say, a flashlight is cut down in this way from \$1 to 80 cents each, the gain resulting from increased productivity is 20 cents on each unit. All of this gain can be turned into greater profit for the manufacturer. If wages paid to the workers making these flashlights stay the same and the price remains the same, the manufacturer's profit per flashlight would increase by 20 cents.

Or all of the productivity gain may be translated into higher wages. Or all of it may go to reduce the price of the product. Or the benefit of increased productivity may be divided three ways among higher profit for the producer, higher wages for the worker and lowered prices for the consumer.

Increased productivity of the economy as a whole can be measured just as the productivity of the individual manufacturer. The value of the total production of our entire economy, adjusted for changes in the price level, does represent the actual amount of goods and services produced over a period of time.

Productivity of the American economy has been going up steadily. In the private sector of the economy (leaving out the government services as such and the armed forces) the annual gain in productivity between

1909 and 1941 has been at the average rate of 2.1 per cent. This, of course, is an average. Depressions, when less capital is invested in new machinery, slow down the pace while they last and show their effect later. In other years there have been spurts of greater-than-average increases. But this figure shows that by keeping up this rate of industrial improvement, we could double the efficiency in about fifty years.

Since the end of the last war this rate of increased productivity has been greatly stepped up. Since 1949 productivity has been rising at the rate of around 5½ per cent a year. If we could sustain this pace of rising productivity, we could double the efficiency in twenty years!

Productivity, therefore, is the source on which the whole nation can draw to achieve economic betterment. Yet crucial to the success or failure of translating improved productivity into a better standard of living is the ability to translate the benefits of improved productivity into economic betterment for all. By producing more at less cost, it is possible to increase profits as well as wages without increasing prices.

Rising productivity in the American economy reflects forces at work more far-reaching than improved efficiency within the individual plant or mine or other productive establishment. New technology has speeded up the pace of economic life everywhere. Where trade and commerce fifty years ago were carried on without the help of streamlined trains, highballing highway trucks and speedy air freight and airmail, today they are carried on with the help of all this added speed, plus the teletype and the fast long-distance telephone service.

Speed of movement and communication alone has greatly increased the efficiency of our economy. New technology has also given us new materials and products, as well as new machines which can make production better and faster.

The greatest economic question of our time is how can we best translate this better economic organization into higher real income. How can we bring the increasing volume of new products within the financial reach of more people who want them and want to be able to buy them?

The American Federation of Labor early recognized the importance of

relating wages to increased productivity. More than a quarter century ago the 1925 convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted the following declaration, proposed by Delegate John P. Frey:

"Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

Undertaking a series of studies of the relationship between wages and productivity, the A. F. of L. proposed as "organized labor's modern wage policy" one which reflects improved productivity in higher wages.

As a part of the over-all program of economic stabilization during the present defense period, labor has accepted and has supported the wage stabilization program. Yet in agreeing to wage control as a part of a broader defense against inflation, labor pointed out from the outset the need for permitting wage increases which reflect increased productivity.

AS EARLY as January 11, 1951, a joint statement presented by labor to the Wage Stabilization Board said:

"In the present sellers' market, it is obvious that reductions in unit costs of production resulting from improved efficiency will not lead to lower prices. The denial of wage adjustments based on industrial progress would not, therefore, benefit consumers. It would serve only to enhance the profits of employers.

"Failure to allow such wage adjustments, whether provided in existing contracts or negotiated in the future, would represent intervention by this Board in the distribution of the shares of the national income, to the detriment of the workers' share and for the benefit of business and management income. This would be a grievous injustice to the workers whose role in the productive process is so vital. * * *

"A share in the fruits of industrial progress and increased productivity would contribute greatly to the morale and efficiency of workers, thereby adding to stability."

Five months later the Wage Stabilization Board acted on this proposal,

but in a backhanded way. It agreed to permit small wage increases based on productivity—but only under agreements negotiated before January 26, 1951.

The result was a dual standard. Workers under agreements concluded before January 26, 1951, could have wage increases based on productivity. Those who had taken no such action prior to the cutoff date were not allowed productivity increases.

In October, 1951, the A. F. of L. members of the Wage Stabilization Board presented a resolution urging a policy which would permit productivity increases to all workers. The Wage Stabilization Board, however, has failed to take such action. On May 26 the W.S.B. chairman, Nathan Feinsinger, opened a three-day hearing to consider testimony on this question. The A. F. of L. presented evidence at this hearing showing that the Board would be fully justified in permitting increases based on productivity to the extent of 11 per cent where such increases have been agreed to by labor and management.

The A. F. of L. proposal was based on the fact that productivity per man-hour in our economy as a whole increased by 5.9 per cent between 1949 and 1950, and by 5.4 per cent between 1950 and 1951. It was shown that during the two-year period from 1949 to 1951 productivity in the private economy rose 11.6 per cent. On this basis the A. F. of L. felt that it was both just and necessary for the Board to issue a general regulation permitting productivity wage increases of 11 per cent.

If the Board by regulation would permit productivity wage increases to the extent of 11 per cent as the result of collective bargaining, it would in effect permit workers to catch up with their share in the rising productivity for the period of 1949-1951. The proposal is therefore not based on conjecture or on any estimate of what future changes in productivity might be. It is based on the solid fact that during this two-year period, while productivity rose, workers were not permitted to share in the benefits of such a rise.

Wage increases based on productivity gains are not inflationary. Even though the level of prices has risen during the past fifty years, our real per capita income today is in the ratio of 2½ to 1 in relation to what it was

half a century ago. We have proved by experience that the best way in which we can translate productivity benefits into a higher standard of living is by allowing workers to share in the benefits of productivity by a proportionate increase in wages.

It should be made perfectly clear that this proposal does not advocate that all of the productivity gains be translated into higher wages. Suppose the direct labor cost per unit runs at, let us say, 30 per cent of the value of the product. An 11 per cent increase in wages, proportionate to the productivity increase, would claim no more than the *labor share* in the productivity benefit, a share which is only a fraction of the total gain. By producing 111 units per man-hour in-

stead of 100, it becomes possible to grant such a wage increase, based on productivity, and yet keep the labor cost per unit of product no higher than it was before.

Increased productivity does not mean that workers must be subjected to a more intensive effort. On the contrary, the combined results of better technology, improved organization of production and higher skill have made it possible to reduce overlong hours of labor as well as increase money wages while constantly increasing real income.

If increased productivity is not accompanied by an increase in real wages, buying power will not keep up with increased ability to produce. It is vitally important for us to make

sure that, when the peak of defense production is past, buying power is available to sustain a full flow of post-defense civilian production. We are bound to face a disruptive recession if we don't allow wages to catch up with the recent productivity gains.

The American Federation of Labor's goal is an 11 per cent increase in wages, based on productivity gains of 1949-51. The Wage Stabilization Board should *permit* such an increase. It should be realized through the instrumentality of collective bargaining between labor and management.

Rising productivity is the source of strength of our whole economy. Productivity wage increases are the means of bringing this source to the vital roots of America's future growth.

The Council at Boston

MEETING in Boston, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor last month warned that organized labor will refuse to participate in the wage stabilization program if Congress "changes the rules in the middle of the game to give employers unfair and unjustified advantages."

The Executive Council attacked pending moves in Congress to rescue Big Business by destroying the tripartite nature of the Wage Stabilization Board and limiting the jurisdiction of the Board to wage issues only.

On the first point the Council told Congress that "organized labor cannot and will not participate in any wage stabilization program unless the Wage Stabilization Board is set up on a tripartite basis, as at present."

On the second point the Council served notice that if Congress "yields to the dictates of Big Business, it will be impossible for organized labor to participate in stabilization policies."

In its statement on the new crisis the Executive Council said in part:

"Two moves are under way in Congress to destroy the basic structure of the Wage Stabilization program. * * *

"The Executive Council condemns both of these moves as hostile to the public interest in a period of national emergency. They are intended to rescue Big Business interests from the

effects of decisions unacceptable to them. But the inevitable result of such unwise, impractical and unjust changes in the law will be to wreck the entire stabilization program and expose the nation's economy to the disaster of uncontrolled inflation.

"We wish to inform Congress as clearly and as bluntly as possible that organized labor cannot and will not participate in any wage stabilization program unless the Wage Stabilization Board is set up on a tripartite basis, as at present.

"The workers of this country are willing to submit to wage controls because they realize the paramount importance of the success of the national defense program, but they will not consent to the regulation of their livelihood by a system of compulsory arbitration. They insist on self-government, in the American tradition. They want a direct voice in the regulation of their wages and salaries through a tripartite board on which labor, business and the public are equally represented.

"No group of 'public' members can know enough about the intimate details of collective bargaining and wage setting under the diverse conditions of all American industries to handle these problems on a practical basis. An all-public board would result in compulsory arbitration by theorists

and bureaucrats whose decisions ultimately would become as insupportable to industry as to labor."

The Executive Council issued a statement declaring that American workers have become "thoroughly disillusioned" with the present Congress.

"Month after month," said the Council, "it has delayed action on legislation of vital importance to the American people."

The Council's statement continued:

"A case in point is the extension of emergency economic controls. The Defense Production Act, which authorizes price and wage controls, expires on June 30. It is obvious to the great majority of the American people that price controls need strengthening and tightening. Despite ample supplies of consumer goods, retail prices are still at record-breaking levels and threaten to go still higher.

"Yet Congress has done nothing. It has deliberately stalled for more than four months. Reports from Capitol Hill indicate that Congress will wait till the last moment and then vote to continue controls for another year in weakened form.

"That would be a major concession to the Big Business interests of the nation. They want to abolish price controls altogether. The politicians in Congress fear such drastic action would be dangerous in an election



year. So they are planning to accomplish the same purpose by making price controls still more ineffective.

"A year ago Congress adopted a series of amendments to the Defense Production Act which seriously handicapped the price control program. One of these special-interest actions, known as the Capehart amendment, has cost consumers a billion dollars already, according to official estimates. If a recent court ruling is upheld, the Capehart amendment will be applied at the retail level, as well as to wholesalers, and prices will be forced still higher.

"The Executive Council urges Congress to take these facts into consideration and face up to the grim realities of inflation in the public interest. The patience of the public, the patience of the working men and women of this country, is not inexhaustible. Under pressure of Congress-encouraged profiteering, which undermines their standard of living, the voters will surely retaliate at the polls next November against lawmakers who neglect their interests.

"The real culprits in Congress are the reactionaries from both parties who have joined together in a coalition which controls the law-making machinery. Labor's chief objective in the coming elections will be to break the power of that coalition.

"The American Federation of Labor will do everything in its power to bring out a full vote and to spread far and wide the reprehensible voting records of the members of the coalition."

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor, during the Boston meeting, reaffirmed labor's support of the defense production program and scored the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States

Chamber of Commerce for urging defense cuts at this time of peril.

"The American Federation of Labor believes," said the Council, "that when the workers of this country are ready to bear their share of the burden, the business interests of the nation should not flinch at the cost of preserving our free competitive enterprise system."

The Council remarked that it was "discouraging," when the issue is of such basic importance, "to see the Big Business organizations putting profits ahead of patriotism."

The statement was as follows:

"The uncertainty of international relationships, punctuated by the outbreak of armed hostilities in Korea on June 25, 1950, and intensification of guerilla warfare in Malaya and Indo-China, to which has been added complicated diplomatic problems in Iran and Egypt, which have combined and expanded to form a 'danger belt' extending from Morocco to the Sea of Japan, vindicates the uncompromising support given to the defense production program by the American Federation of Labor.

"Continental Europe is beset with conflicting and unpredictable problems, arising from the controversial plan for unification of the nations of Western Europe to present a bulwark against the insidious spread of communism, and the passivity or fatalistic resignation caused by war exhaustion and economic prostration.

"Because of the virility, strength and solvency of the United States, because of the democratic ideals, principles and philosophies contained in the Constitution of the United States and because of the unparalleled living standards prevalent in this great nation, we have been skyrocketed to the position of free world leadership, involving enormous responsibilities, sacrifices and abiding devotion to the principles of justice, tolerance and respect for the dignity of the individual.

"Realizing that world freedom is probably facing the most serious challenge since the dawn of civilization, calling for the utmost courage, emotional stability and enduring confidence in our collective ability to establish and maintain an adequate and efficient defensive system against all forms of aggression, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its unwavering sup-

port of the defense production program and urges intensification of the production and construction of facilities required to insure the attainment of our established goals.

"The Executive Council views with deep concern the efforts of isolationists in Congress to cripple the nation's defense program under the attractive camouflage of economy.

"On an issue of such basic importance, it is discouraging to see the Big Business organizations putting profits ahead of patriotism. Both the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have come out for defense cuts to avoid higher taxes.

"The American Federation of Labor believes that when the workers of this country are ready to bear their share of the burden, the business interests of the nation should not flinch at the cost of preserving our free competitive enterprise system."

A feature of the May meeting of the Executive Council was the announcement that an important part of the membership of the C.I.O. textile union was coming over to the American Federation of Labor. It

That government is the strongest of which every man feels himself a part.
—Thomas Jefferson.

was made known that George Bal-dan-zi, former vice-president of the C.I.O. union, had joined the A. F. of L. union, the United Textile Workers of America. It was anticipated that 100,000 members of the C.I.O. union would be following Mr. Bal-dan-zi into the A. F. of L. by the end of the year.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, speaking at a Samuel Gompers memorial dinner sponsored by the Massachusetts branch of Labor's League for Political Education, emphasized that political issues in the United States today are bread-and-butter issues.

As the American Federation of Labor has built up strong and effective trade unions to gain economic aims, Mr. Green said, so must L.L.P.E. be built into "an effective political instrumentality." This is the correct application of the philosophy of Gompers to today's political situation in the United States, Mr. Green asserted. (Continued on Page 31)

Absolute Dictatorship

versus

Relative Freedom

By IRVING BROWN

A. F. of L. Representative in Europe



MR. BROWN

IN THE past seventy years many rights have been won by the free labor movement. Among them are the right to receive decent wages and work under decent conditions, the right to choose one's work, to choose one's job, to change one's lodging, to change standards. In short, we of the free world have won our most precious right—the right to change what we don't like in order to make it better.

The issue today is not one between two absolutes but between an order of absolute dictatorship on the one hand and an order of relative freedom on the other. In the world of relative freedom—the democratic world—we have the right to change our lot as individuals and, as members of trade unions, we have the right, which we exercise, to change those conditions that stand in the way of further progress for the people.

Those who have lost their freedom have learned the real meaning of this freedom. For as Matteotti, the great Italian labor leader, once said:

"Freedom is like the air you breathe. You only know how to appreciate it when you have lost it."

The peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are now experiencing this great tragedy and know the consequences. That is why there are more anti-Communists in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union than anywhere else in the world. And that is why there are more Communists (revolting against Stalinism)

in the jails of Eastern Europe than in the countries of the free world.

The millions living in the strait-jacket world of Stalin can still hear the voice of freedom—the voice of those who want a society where the people have the right to change parties, change their leaders; yes, even change their system of society.

All of humanity longs for peace and security. The entire history of America points to its deep love of peace and its aversion to militarism. But we believe equally firmly in freedom.

IF SLAVERY exists in one country, there is danger for the entire world. Where there is slavery, there is danger of war. Where there are slaves, there are masters. And where there are masters, there are leaders with unlimited power to plunge their people into war. If the people give up their freedom, they lose all power to control and restrain these masters.

That is why our fight is not merely a fight for trade union freedom. Our fight for free trade unionism cannot under the present circumstances be separated from the struggle for freedom and democracy. Without free trade unions there cannot be democracy, and without democracy there can be no free trade unions.

The fight for economic and social justice led by the free trade unions of the world can be carried on only within the framework of a political system. It is in this sense that

we pledge our full support in the life-and-death struggle for the extermination of the old dictatorship and the prevention of a new tyranny.

The fight for freedom goes on and on. Those who want to remain free must fight again and again to preserve their liberties. For the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Now the free world, in the light of the danger of Soviet aggression, must go forward to embrace a positive program of security—economic, political and military.

The peoples of all Europe must enjoy a free society in an economy of full employment, with the guaranteed right to improve the economic and social conditions of most people.

A free Europe must be achieved through free elections, properly supervised and protected, leading to the eventual withdrawal of occupation troops in all of Europe. This means, specifically, free elections and the withdrawal of troops in both Eastern Europe and Germany.

To achieve permanent security, a free Eastern Europe must become united into a free, democratic and single Europe.

And such a unified democratic Europe must merge into an eventual wider economic, political and social union in which a free America is an integral part of a new worldwide community of free peoples.

This is our message to those Europeans who are free and to those who are toiling to become free once again.

IGNORANCE IS POISON

By **JOSEPH P. McCURDY**

President, United Garment Workers of America

INDUSTRIAL relations in the United States must keep pace with scientific and technological advances if our way of life is to be preserved.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act five years ago clearly established that free, voluntary collective bargaining, so necessary in a country like ours, is not understood by vast numbers of everyday Americans and is also not understood by the majority of members of Congress.

Our country has grown great and powerful because our people believe in freedom and resist oppression. Americans are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes that the democratic way of life shall endure. Shall such sacrifices be in vain? Shall we try to establish democracy in other nations while at the same time, because of almost criminal failure to protect the working people of our own country, we lose our liberty here in America?

Enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act was one of the worst things that could have happened in America. It has caused the government to assume the role of a Simon Legree in labor relations. Collective bargaining is hindered, rather than encouraged.

Visiting France, Italy, England and Ireland, I had ample opportunity to study the effects of government control of labor-management relations. What I saw reinforced my conviction that the United States has achieved greatness in a comparatively short time because our system has been built on freedom of action and initiative, with due regard for the rights of our fellow citizens.

American labor has cooperated fully and completely with decent management and with our government in every national crisis. Labor is doing so at the present time, even with the great handicaps and provocations of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Many people do not understand the damage that this act is perpetrating on our republic. The Taft-Hartley Act



MR. McCURDY

was written in a spirit of hatred for organized labor. However, even if the law had not been written in such a spirit, it would be essential for those who administer laws dealing with labor-management relations to have a practical knowledge and a genuine understanding of labor-management relations. It cannot be said that such knowledge or understanding is possessed at present by everybody connected with the National Labor Relations Board or similar state bodies.

There is a great need for education in labor-management relations. This subject is not being taught in the schools. It is a very important matter. Some people have been sold the fantastic idea that labor unions are a menace and should be destroyed. A little reflection makes clear the utterly ridiculous nature of this idea. The destruction of American labor unions would mean destruction of the American standard of living. Wages would toboggan to the very low levels found in foreign countries.

The American people as a whole should learn about labor's early struggles to eliminate the sweatshop, to establish health regulations, to eliminate company-dominated organizations, to secure recognition of the right of working people to form un-

ions for their protection, to establish the dignity of the worker through collective bargaining.

Acceptance of the idea that the daily newspapers are the educators of the American people may lead us to destruction. Of course, as Americans we believe in a free press. Of course, we defend freedom of thought and expression. Then by all the rules of reason and justice, labor should have its cause properly presented in these days of high-powered public relations and advertising.

In order to bring about a better understanding and have the American public know labor and appreciate its blessings, the establishment of professorships and courses in labor science at leading Schools of Journalism should be considered. By bringing about a greater understanding of labor and the principles that animate labor, newspaper reporters, editors, writers and radio and television people would be enabled to render a great patriotic service to our country and assist in eliminating subversive elements which must be expelled from our free enterprise system.

The so-called "intellectual guardians of the public," whether they be university professors or other intellectuals, should have a complete knowledge of modern labor-management relations in order to qualify as advisers to leaders in government or industry. And those who hold seats on government boards dealing with economic matters must of necessity have a real knowledge and understanding of labor-management relations.

It seems to me that the establishment of professorships and courses in labor science would be very desirable. Certainly the proposal merits serious consideration. There can be no question that some effective action is urgently needed in order to dispel the present profound ignorance of labor-management relations among so many legislators, government officials and members of the public.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

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JUNE, 1



President Charles MacGowan of the Boilermakers and Director Jim McDevitt (at right) of Labor's League point to a key word. Wise citizens know that they have to register if they want to vote. Joining Labor's League is a sensible idea, too

BACK LABOR'S LEAGUE!

By JAMES L. McDEVITT

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

THE official lobby report for 1951 tells the real story of corruption in Washington. Spending by 295 groups, as officially reported, to influence Congress in 1951, amounted to a total of \$9,488,000.

Nobody questions the right of petition by any group or individual. The real story is in who the big spenders are and what they want from Congress.

The four biggest spenders accounted for more than a third of the total—\$3,254,470. Needless to say, all four of this elite group are viciously anti-labor.

The American Farm Bureau Federation led all the rest with \$1,595,815. This is the organization which was originally launched by the Chicago Board of Trade and whose present banker president, Allan Kline, is a director of the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank. Not only has this organization advocated cutting back on the farm program, raising the interest rates and curtailing farm

cooperatives through taxation, but it has been in the forefront in the fight to clamp further restrictions on organized labor.

The Committee for Constitutional Government spent \$773,957. This is the largest of the right-wing hate lobbies in the country. This lobby is so reactionary it even opposes public schools. And, of course, this committee seeks complete abolition of unions, as such.

The American Medical Association spent \$450,372 under the guiding hand of the expert political propaganda team of Whitaker and Baxter. The A.M.A. has been drawn into a back-scratching coalition with all other hate groups in opposing all liberal legislation. As recently as May 19, last-minute obstruction by the A.M.A. prevented passage of an amendment to the Social Security Act providing a modest increase in payments to old folks and providing protection of insurance rights for those permanently disabled.

The National Association of Electric Com-



St. Louis citizens take advantage of opportunity to register. Local L.L.P.E. spurred outdoor setup

panies, another anti-labor lobby, spent \$434,325. Led by the highest paid of all the Washington influence men, Purcell Smith, this lobby is primarily interested in opposing power projects like T.V.A. and being helpful to certain Congressmen who are most unfriendly to labor.

This line-up gives some idea of what an honest, conscientious Congressman is up against. Millions are spent to influence his vote in Washington. He knows that when he goes home for reelection, some newspapers will misrepresent him and there will be plenty of money available to defeat him if he doesn't

do as the big anti-labor lobbies want him to do.

The kind of results that this type of influence money can buy is represented in the Fulbright amendment designed to wreck the Walsh-Healey Act. This act, passed in 1936, requires the government to refrain from buying goods from firms that do not meet minimum wage and safety standards. The act has served a good purpose in protecting American working standards and protecting legitimate firms from sweatshop competition in bidding.

However, the amendment introduced this year by Senator Fulbright

provided that purchases of items normally sold on the open market would be exempt. In short, at least half the employees involved in work on government contracts would be taken out from under the protection of the Walsh-Healey Act.

This time of emergency, when the government is spending \$70 billion a year, is hardly the time to introduce such legislation unless the object is to help low-wage, non-union firms, in Arkansas and other non-union areas, to grab government contracts at the expense of legitimate firms.

There is plenty at stake or labor's enemies would not be spending millions to influence Congressmen. The very least that we working people can do to insure that honest Congressmen are able to vote their convictions and still survive on Election Day is to back up our local and state branches of Labor's League for Political Education and see to it that all the members of our families are registered and out to the polls on Election Day.

Every dollar contributed to the L.L.P.E. membership drive will go directly to assist Congressional candidates friendly to labor in this important election year. When labor's enemies put up many millions to tear down what it has taken trade unionists so many years to establish, then the least each of us should do is contribute one dollar to protect ourselves against these rapacious marauders.



Dan Tracy, president of Electrical Workers, and Congressional voting records. In 1952 as in years past, friend and foe reveal themselves to working people by their records

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The Forgotten Consumer

By BERT SEIDMAN

Assistant Economist, American Federation of Labor

AFTER the evening meal Tom Dugan likes to settle down in his favorite easy chair and read the evening paper.

One evening last month he was turning from the front page to the latest sports news when this headline caught his eye:

Prices Are Still Falling; Business Fears Recession

Under the headline was a short article mentioning some of the products for which prices had dropped in recent weeks—clothing, chickens, eggs, television sets and a few others. A prominent merchant in town was quoted as saying that if prices continued to fall, business might be faced with a serious recession.

All of this came as news to Tom. He hadn't seen any evidence of low prices, but after all, he thought, Sally does most of the shopping. Maybe she would know something about this.

Sally was putting the children to bed, but when she came into the room Tom asked her what she knew about these widespread decreases in prices discussed in the article.

Sally just laughed. She wanted to know where these low prices were. She certainly hadn't found things any cheaper in the grocery store. The children's clothes and shoes cost just about as much this year as last year. The rent had gone up 20 per cent. If anything, Tom's weekly pay envelope seemed to have to stretch further now than six months or a year ago.

Sally was right. Her everyday experience with high and still rising prices has been confirmed by official government statistics.

A recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics brings out some important facts. These are facts which Sally, or any other housewife who is confronted with the daily problem of buying the necessities of life for her family, undoubtedly does not need to be

told. This B.L.S. study shows that items which make up more than 50 per cent of the Consumers' Price Index were at all-time peak levels on March 15, 1952, and items covering more than 70 per cent were either at peak or within 2 per cent of peak.

On the other hand, less than 10 per cent of the items were 10 per cent or more below the peak level. Since March retail prices have risen still further.

Here are some of the items which were still at all-time peak levels when the survey was made: white bread, fresh milk, men's overcoats, men's hats, women's gloves, rent, bituminous coal, electricity, gas, tires, gasoline, streetcar and bus fares; hospital rates, residential telephone service, haircuts and beauty shop service. Except for one or two items, all of the items which were 10 per cent or more below peak were food items at seasonally low prices.

What all this adds up to is that prices are very high and still rising.

Is it true then that all prices have remained at high levels? The answer to this question is that in recent months *wholesale* prices have dropped, but the decrease has not been reflected at the *retail* level and, therefore, consumers have received no benefits whatsoever.

Briefly, this is what happened:

While wholesale prices increased faster than retail prices in the first fifteen months after controls were established, they have dropped since then. On the other hand, most retail prices have continued to go up and up and up. Even in the few instances when there have actually been price decreases at retail, they have been very small.

A glance at a few of the figures will indicate how this has taken place. For all wholesale prices there was an increase of about 19 per cent from January, 1950, to March, 1951, and then from March, 1951, to April, 1952, there was a drop of about 4 per cent. The *over-all* increase from January, 1950, to April, 1952, was 11.5 per cent.

On the other hand, retail prices, as shown by the Consumers' Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, rose from January, 1950, to March, 1951, by about 10 per cent—only about half as much as wholesale prices. But instead of dropping after that, or even remaining stationary, retail prices continued to rise another 2 per cent from March, 1951, to April, 1952. The net result was that while wholesale prices in April, 1952, were 11.5 per cent over the January, 1950 level, retail prices were 12.2 per cent over that level and were still rising.

If you compare wholesale textile prices with retail apparel prices, or wholesale prices for hides, skins and leather products with retail shoe prices, the effect is even more marked.

Thus, for the period January, 1950, (Continued on Page 30)



MR. SEIDMAN

The A. F. of L. in Illinois

By R. G. SODERSTROM and STANLEY L. JOHNSON

President and Secretary, Respectively, Illinois State Federation of Labor

THE Illinois State Federation of Labor is the official state branch of the great American Federation of Labor. In legislative matters it is the state representative of more than 3,200 local unions, with a combined membership of approximately three-quarters of a million Illinois workers.

Over a period of almost seventy years the State Federation of Labor has been the leading factor in the promotion of labor legislation in Illinois. It is the voice of labor within the borders of the Prairie State. Through it the hopes and aspirations of Illinois labor are expressed in an effective manner. Its adherence to American ideals has been unflinching.

Every item of protective labor legislation enacted in Illinois during the past seven decades is directly attributable to the activities of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and its associated unions and councils. During that long period not a single anti-labor law has been placed upon the statute books of Illinois.

OTHER states may have labor laws which, at one point or another, are improvements over Illinois standards, but, on the whole, Illinois ranks among the leaders in the quality of labor legislation.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor came into being in March, 1884. It was born in Chicago, in the hall of the Seamen's Union, the same organization which, long years afterward, sent one of its favorite sons, the late Victor A. Olander, to serve as the secretary-treasurer of the state body.

The press accounts of that first State Federation of Labor meeting of sixty-eight years ago are indicative of the difference between the past and the present. Then the newspapers ridiculed the proposal of the State Federation to bring about the compulsory education of children. The suggestion that the youngsters of



MR. SODERSTROM

working folk should be required to attend school was denounced as unworthy of public support.

The same hostile attitude was taken by the press toward the Federation's proposal for an eight-hour workday and other improvements in life and labor. Today no one would dream of opposing the program of labor legislation outlined by the Federation at its birth in the hall of the Seamen's Union in Chicago.

In those days formation of a trade union met with drastic opposition on the part of the employer. Exceptions were few. Discharge of a worker for daring to join with his fellows in a labor organization was common.

Many of the local unions were compelled to maintain utmost secrecy in regard to the names of their members. Delegates attending the annual conventions sometimes had to come under assumed names in order to save themselves from loss of their jobs. Private detective agencies spied upon the workers of Illinois for the purpose of checking union activities. Many of these detective agencies maintained bands of professional strikebreakers and private armies of ruffians trained

in the use of the gun and the club.

Yet the Illinois labor movement grew. Unionism moved forward because of the inherent necessity for its development. Fighting against seemingly unsurmountable odds, the unions slowly but steadily gained public approval. Today no responsible citizen would advocate the old system of child labor, the industrial spy system has been almost abolished, bands of professional strikebreakers no longer roam the country and, at least in Illinois, no one need fear to show his union card to anybody.

There have been many exciting and spectacular events in the history of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. A thrilling story could be written which would fill many volumes. It seems best, however, to take advantage of the two pages here available to record what happened in the last session of the Illinois General Assembly.

ILLINOIS trade unionists had a successful session. We secured enactment of an amendment to the prevailing rate of wage law which removed administration of this act from the counties and put it in the hands of the Labor Department, and of a law which defines construction, maintenance and repairs, and also specifies that the union scale within a labor contract shall be the prevailing rate.

We secured legislation to permit the placing on the market of colored or yellow margarine.

We secured approval of a voluntary health plan proposal. Plans may be set up and controlled by labor unions if they so desire. Another measure increases the exemption under the garnishment act from \$20 a week to \$25 a week. We secured the enactment of a bill which makes it permissible for public employes, including municipal employes, to come under the Social Security Act.

We secured the enactment of a law to take care of those totally disabled

and who are not covered by any other law. The costs are to be met on a federal-state cooperative basis.

We raised unemployment insurance weekly benefits from \$25 to \$27. We gained improvements in the workmen's compensation and occupational diseases acts. The maximum death award has been increased from \$8500 to \$9600, and the maximum benefits, for those who might become afflicted with an occupational disease or meet with an accidental injury, have been increased from \$30 a week to \$34 a week.

Labor secured the enactment of a licensing law for plumbers which was desired by the Plumbers Union. An improvement in the barber law of Illinois, which was desired by the Journeymen Barbers of Illinois, was secured and also an inspection-of-boilers law, in which the Boilermakers were interested.

Illinois labor obtained a new retirement law for school teachers and other teacher welfare legislation. Measures for coal miners of this state, for railroad workers and for public employes also were passed.

We lost out on some legislation, of course. We lost House Bill 85 providing a 10 per cent increase for the aged. This bill was vetoed by the Governor. We lost House Bill 160, which proposed an eight-hour day and five-day week for state employes. We lost a proposal designed to improve the equal pay law for both sexes and we were not successful in our efforts to secure a law to provide benefits for sick wage-earners comparable to benefits when they are unemployed.

We lost a bill to set a 75-cent hourly minimum wage for women and minors. Also the Fair Employment Practices Commission bill. This was designed to eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin. We lost the bill to make it possible for labor unions to enter into contractual relationships with the state or any of its political subdivisions.

We introduced forty important bills in the last session, and we passed thirty-one of them. While we lost out on nine measures, there is satisfaction in knowing that thirty-one bills sought by labor were enacted in the last session of the Illinois General Assembly.

No anti-labor legislation was passed. Not a single bad bill—from



MR. JOHNSON

labor's standpoint—was enacted. The good legislation we secured will improve working conditions for all the wage-earners in Illinois. It will place millions of dollars in their pockets which they would not otherwise have received. It is fair to say, therefore, that the work of the officers and members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the legislative field has produced worthwhile results.

Illinois, once regarded as backward in labor legislation, today ranks ahead of almost all other states in the Middle

West in this field. Its occupational diseases law is the best in the country. Its workmen's compensation act has been improved so that it, too, is finally one of the good ones.

Illinois has a fine wage collection law, blind pension law, rehabilitation service law for handicapped and crippled people, a permissive free textbook law for public schools, an anti-yellow-dog contract and injunction limitation law, a women's eight-hour law, excellent aid to dependent children legislation and an old-age assistance law.

The federal-state cooperative social security legislation is also regarded as outstanding. The Illinois unemployment insurance act already possesses many of the new standards now being suggested by the A. F. of L. There is also a prevailing rate of wage law to cover public construction work, and an equal pay law for both sexes performing similar work.

The successes attained by the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the legislative field have attracted hundreds of local unions, not formerly affiliated with it, into the fold.

Despite the depression of the Thirties and the split in the labor movement, the American Federation of Labor in Illinois is today greater and stronger than ever before.

50 Years Ago in the FEDERATIONIST

THE SPIRIT of unionism is abroad in the land. Scarcely a report but brings the good tidings of conditions bettered and homes made brighter by the united efforts of men who formerly were isolated and friendless. Labor surveys its achievements with pardonable pride and promises still greater results for the future through united effort.

UNTIL THERE is a law which really keeps the child under 12 out of the factory, economic pressure will drive it in, notwithstanding all the sentimental remedies offered in the place of the one which in every other country has proved effectual. Child labor has increased beyond all proportion to labor of men and women, and while dividends average 35 per cent and sometimes rise as high as 80 or 90 per cent, the average wage is steadily dropping.

AS THE WAGE-EARNERS organize more thoroughly, persistently pressing home these great questions of their industrial

rights, our antagonists will be compelled to yield—inch by inch at first—but with each step their retreat will gain greater impetus, until we shall have swept out of existence the old-time, barbarous attacks upon the rights and full enfranchisement of the workers.

IF THERE IS sufficient popular intelligence to have a republican form of government and to preserve order, the average opinion of the masses, frequently expressed, will prove safer and surer in the long run than the management of any one man or class that ever held exclusive political and governmental power.

THE COURT may send a man or a few men to prison, but there will be others who are earnest and active and who will work in behalf of organization and take charge of the field that these men have been compelled to relinquish for a time, and better organization will follow.

WHEN THE STATE undertakes to force a man to work for any set period, for a particular employer, specifying the conditions, and upon his refusal to work sends him to prison—at that moment freedom has been destroyed and slavery inaugurated.

EDITORIALS *by William Green*

Men of Principle Needed

THE WHOLE world is in a state of tension and upheaval. Efforts for world peace have failed because of the organized efforts of men without goodwill—men who wish to deny others their right to decide their own lives.

Never were changes and trends in the affairs of all nations, large and small, as important to the world as today. Elections in countries permeated by Communist activities are eagerly watched for evidences of mounting discontent. Incidents revealing the desire of backward nations for self-rule, the will to escape from contracts still unfulfilled—all of these become opportunities for Communist propaganda activities.

A constitutional dispute in South Africa, arbitrary suppression of petitions against colonialism and for national sovereignty in Tunisia, abrupt and unilateral ending of agreements and treaties in Iran and Egypt, regardless of the historic development of existing conditions or the need for protection of equities provided by the treaty or contracts—all these become matters of front-page news in the press and primary problems for diplomats.

The coming elections in our own country hold world attention as clues to changes in administrative policy. We, as citizens, feel a deep concern and responsibility that individuals of the highest integrity—incorruptible—with sound judgment, ample technical training and experience shall be chosen. Unless such individuals are chosen, we shall not have sound global relationships or adjustment of problems that make for dissension. The American people have been deeply disturbed by widespread evidences of dishonesty in public office, the power of the underworld and willingness to use national property for personal gain.

We want leadership that will strengthen and maintain moral standards in private as well as national life and which will carry out the will of the people in establishing the conditions and agencies of enduring world peace.

Because we know public officials must be upheld and urged to still higher achievements, we feel that the outcome of this year's Presidential campaign and Congressional elections will be in the best national interest only if every voter will inform himself on crucial current problems, ways of dealing with them and the policies as well as the character and record of each candidate for whom he may vote. A responsible, informed electorate is just as necessary to good government as responsible, fully equipped public officials. The responsibilities of the voters do not end with the election but extend to following the proposals and voting records of elected representatives.

Citizenship is not merely an exercise of a right but

entails active and continuing interest in what the people's representatives are doing. It is obvious that citizens of a democracy must be grounded in the principles of human freedom and must know how to guard and preserve them.

Wage-earners learn these principles in the study of government and in their application by their unions. Education through union work develops staunch advocates of human freedom and understanding of the keys to it. In other words, union work and activity are directed by basic principles which guide in deciding upon related proposals. This is why the wage-earner who is a good trade unionist is also a good citizen. Good trade unionists are desperately needed in the global battle into which the Communists have plunged the world.

Men committed to principles which they guard with life and honor are needed in all walks of life and in all human relationships. Such men are needed to make sure that our nation uses its responsibility for world leadership with unfaltering sureness. Reliance upon principles will protect us against the pitfalls of compromise and lack of precision and will lead to safe goals. Adherence to principles strengthens character, which has its roots in the spiritual nature of man.

In addition, we should give most careful and serious attention to conserving the fountainheads of morality in our nation—our homes, our churches and our schools. Whatever we can do to strengthen these institutions will in turn strengthen the character, understanding and vision of the citizens of the future who will be custodians of our free institutions.

Defense Still Urgent

CONGRESS is considering revisions in the Defense Production Act under which controls on wages, prices, materials, credits and rents are authorized. The Defense Administration made expansion of production facilities a major segment in its planning, so that supplies of controlled defense materials would be adequate for both defense and civilian needs. It is a real tribute to American industries—both management and labor—that increased steel and aluminum are already available and supplies will reach adequacy before the end of the year. The copper supply is increasing and some think will become adequate, but mineral components of processed metals will still need priority safeguards to assure adequate supplies for military production.

Our need for adequate and effective defense protection against aggression at home and elsewhere is urgent. Stalin followed Lenin in declaring that communism and free institutions cannot exist together in this world and therefore communism must destroy our way of life.

Stalin has been actively extending his Communist empire. All of Europe now is concerned with the consequences of what Germany will choose as she resumes sovereignty. Germany is regaining her economic power and wants political independence and national unity. She is also the key to European development.

When it was plain that the Kremlin would not cooperate in negotiating a peace treaty for Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States drew up with the German Federal Republic a contractual agreement which was signed on May 26 by the foreign ministers of these countries. It is in effect a peace treaty. It repeals the occupation statute, abolishes the High Commission and the State Commissioners, transfers the Allied troops in Germany from the role of occupation to that of defense forces. The agreement will become effective only after ratification by the four countries.

The Kremlin at once pledged aid to all Germans opposing the signing of the agreement. The Communists in East Germany put into effect force measures and reinforced the border troops.

The immediate need of Europe is collective and unified action—politically and economically. The European arms pact was signed by six European nations on May 27. But centuries of history, with losses and gains, past injustices and deeds of violence, make unprejudiced policies, even in their own interests, practically difficult because of unwillingness to work for mutual progress. Progress is being made, however, toward a European community and a European army. We know that France cannot wipe out overnight her feeling of bitterness toward Germany—and the reasons are obvious.

But however justified Europe may be in distrusting Germany, it remains true that German cooperation is necessary for the military security of Europe and for the progressive development of higher values in human living. In this situation we can safely trust human generosity guided by love of our fellow men which is of the nature of God.

Inside Germany a combination of Socialists and sympathizers worked against approval of the agreement and doubtless will oppose its ratification. The Kremlin promises a unified Germany—but not through a free election or with freedom to promote their national interests. The same price is asked as was paid by all the satellites.

In Asia, the Soviet frontier has rolled steadily southward through Mongolia, Manchuria, China, North Korea, Tibet. The Communists are now poised over Southeast Asia and South Korea and yearning for control of Japan. This represents a sizable realization of the Soviet blueprint for world empire.

With Asia under Communist control, European countries could be more easily forced into the pattern devised by the Kremlin.

To check this we must next win Germany to the cause of Western freedom and thus strengthen opposition to further aggression. There are already half a million men in the European Defense Army whose very presence will give courage to resistance forces in satellite nations and to the people within the U.S.S.R. Within the nature of the Chinese people lie the forces that will finally destroy foreign domination over that huge nation.

Only unified and unselfish action can save our civilization and our way of life.

Productivity and Wages

THE WAGE Stabilization Board at the end of May held hearings on the resolution of the A. F. of L. members of the Board to approve the policy of salary and wage increases to compensate for more efficient production. The resolution included all factors which contribute to the improvement of quality and quantity by lowering production costs, both by improvements and the elimination of waste, etc.

This proposal with its long-term implications is perhaps the most important matter the Board has considered. American productivity exceeds that of all other nations and has resulted in constantly higher and improved standards of living. Workers have for decades been fully aware of increases in output per man-hour and have made many successful efforts to increase wage rates accordingly. We have urged the Department of Labor to develop productivity measurements. Limited and sometimes conflicting figures are issued by various departments. A labor productivity committee was set up by the Budget Bureau which will soon attack these problems of better measurement techniques.

At the outbreak of the Korean war the productivity increase was estimated at the annual rate of 2 to 2½ per cent, based on the then long-time trend. In the next two years the annual rate of increase grew to 5 per cent or more. The larger increase followed large investments in facilities and tools. Thus many plants provided workers with the most up-to-date tools and procedures which experienced workers put to the best use. With this greatly increased output per man-hour, manpower scarcities expected in the defense period have as yet failed to develop.

Historically, within the past century, there has been a six-fold increase in production per man-hour for the whole country. In the last half century we have doubled the worker's real weekly income and reduced his hours of work by one-third.

Increased productivity is the key to higher living standards, provided, of course, workers' pay is increased proportionately to their production and to lowering of production costs.

Wage-earners have cooperated with management to make increased productivity a reality. Effective use of technical progress usually occurs in mass production or on large-scale production facilities with adequate capital for operation. Unless there were adequate purchasing demand for huge output in our domestic markets, technical progress would soon end in unemployment due to huge inventories and overflowing warehouses. That purchasing demand, which is so important, must be lodged with wage- and small-salaried earners, who constitute the preponderance of buyers in the United States.

Increased productivity cuts down the labor costs of a larger output of goods and services. To increase the pay of those who turn out increases in goods and services is not inflationary. In addition, simple honesty requires compensation for increased efficiency through which the economy benefits.

The Wage Stabilization Board has the responsibility for disapproving wage changes that are inflationary.

The Board can gain prestige for itself by adopting as its policy approval of wage and salary increases which result from more efficient production.

ALL-A.F. of L. SHOW —

Smash Hit!



President Green cut ribbon to open the show as A. F. of L. leaders watched

LABOR'S famous exposition, the annual Union Industries Show, was the hit of hits last month with the people of Boston and the rest of New England. They jammed into Boston's Mechanics Hall, day after day and night after night, during the run of the big show. There was general agreement among those who had seen previous editions of the Union Industries Show that this year's American Federation of Labor spectacle was the biggest and the best yet.

The show was officially opened with a traditional ribbon-cutting ceremony. William Green, president of the A. F. of L., was the man with the scissors. With him as he snipped the ribbon were members of the A. F. of L.'s Executive Council, other leaders of American trade unionism and public officials.

Tremendous throngs turned out to see the \$20,000,000 display of

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Lively music helped put the crowds in the right mood



Matthew Woll, president of Union Label Trade Department, learned about cakes from an expert



A. F. of L. Secretary Meany (left) and Vice-President Harrison were interested in the exhibit of the I.L.O.

unions. No visitors to the show could fail to sense the vast contributions which are made by the millions of men and women, members of organized labor, to the functioning of the exceedingly productive economy of the United States.

The Union Industries Show is a project of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The unanimous verdict is that the 1952 edition was tremendously successful. The hearty congratulations of the labor movement to Department President Matthew Woll and Secretary Ray F. Leheney!

consumer goods featuring everything from tacks to trailers, a bricklaying contest, selection of a beauty queen and a sheep-shearing contest. Gifts worth thousands of dollars were distributed to lucky visitors. Music and entertainment programs helped to keep the crowds happy.

Union after union offered the public eye-catching, educational and interesting exhibits. The many thousands who poured through Mechanics Hall learned a great deal about the numerous important trades, crafts and industries represented by the family of American Federation of Labor

At the exhibit of the American Federation of Labor, President Green was pleased to receive a copy of the A. F. of L. magazine from Mrs. Mary Erb



The spectacle brought out tremendous crowds

[TURN TO NEXT PAGE]



People crowded around the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' carousel. Cakes were decorated and given away to the visitors

Meat was handed out to lucky visitors by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen



United Garment Workers showed men's clothing with union label. Seated, President Joe McCurdy



Plumbers' President Martin P. Durkin (fifth from left) and other craftsmen at that union's exhibit



The Potters advertised U.S. products. Gentleman is James Duffy, union head



Three international union presidents and a union magazine. From left, Robert Byron of Sheet Metal Workers, Richard Walsh of Stage Employees and Harry C. Bates of Bricklayers



One of the most popular attractions of the big Boston show was the bricklaying contest

[TURN TO NEXT PAGE]



Thongs jammed
Mechanics Hall
throughout run
of the exposition



Small fry and grownups enjoyed the Railway Clerks' animated exhibit



Union label promotion of Hatters
was assisted by two pretty girls



A popular spot was the exhibit of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees



Shoe Workers urged buyers to demand the union label



One of the larger locals of Electrical Workers had its own exhibit



Cause of 'white collar' unionism was plugged by the Office Employees



At times there were more people trying to get in than Mechanics Hall could hold. Good publicity pulled citizens to the big show

A Report From Pakistan

By **RICHARD DEVERALL**

A. F. of L. Representative in Pakistan

KARACHI.

ON May Day the free workers of Pakistan, a new Islamic democracy, demonstrated peacefully in this capital city in what labor leader Dawood Haji Yusuf called a "unique May Day without parallel in the history of Karachi."

Eleven thousand children of workers were issued free passes by the West Pakistan Federation of Labor giving them free admission to a daytime cinema show. After the show local labor leader C. P. Dave, genial by temperament, though flashing with wit that is incisive, distributed sweets to the kiddies.

Meanwhile, hundreds of horse-drawn victorias—the slow-moving but delightful taxis of Karachi—were assembled in a park near the waterfront. Men and boys with drums and flutes were on hand. The carriages were decorated with banners lettered in both English and Urdu.

About three o'clock in the afternoon men from the waterfront, the naval dockyard, the mills, the factories, the shops and the offices of this great city began to march in small groups to the assembly point for the giant May Day procession.

Led by prominent labor figures holding aloft union banners, the crowd of thousands of workers marched a few miles through the center of Karachi down old Bunder Road, past the Municipal Corporation Hall, and then when they reached the American Embassy they turned to the right to enter the huge park chosen for the evening ceremonies.

After the marching men came a few camels, trotting along with their operators perched high up—and dangerously, it seemed, bounding from side to side. You have to see a camel trotting to realize that these huge creatures actually dance as they trot!

Then came the horse-drawn victorias and between them circles of dancing workers. They call them

Gora-Garry-Wallahs (drivers of horse-drawn vehicles). Hundreds of them moved along as their occupants chanted songs, shouted hellos to friends or old customers, and displayed posters announcing the demands of Pakistani labor in 1952. Here and there small donkeys pulled



MR. DEVERALL

the carts which handle much of the small cargo unloaded on the docks of Karachi, one of the most important seaports in this part of the world.

The procession that moved down Bunder Road was two miles long. There was no trouble. There were no expressions of hatred. On every face was a smile of quiet determination, the look of the worker who belongs to a free trade union and knows that in his unity with fellow workers there is the strength which insures recognition of his economic demands and his God-given human dignity.

By 5:30 the thousands of trade unionists had arrived in the huge Jehangir Park. The first speaker, Dawood Haji Yusuf, chairman of the Karachi Committee of the West Pakistan Federation of Labor, addressed the gathering. He charged

that "in this Twentieth Century our capitalists look upon labor as a commodity."

"They remain against unionization," he said. Added the veteran Pakistani labor leader: "I may only draw their attention to the conditions prevailing in China before the totalitarian victory and the writings on the wall which the Chinese capitalists saw. There is still time for them to look toward the totalitarian wave sweeping across the world and change their outlook."

The next speaker, Mr. M. A. Khatib, a strong, vigorous man hardly in his forties, came from the docks to be general secretary of the West Pakistan Federation of Labor, an affiliate of the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor, which is in turn an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Said Khatib to the thousands of workers sitting on the ground before him:

"The organized workers of Pakistan demand social revolution without dictatorship of any kind. The new political structure should be built from the bottom up, peacefully, within the limitations of the proposed constitution. Economic reconstruction should * * * begin at the bottom."

Emphasizing that the vast majority of the people of Pakistan are landless workers on farms, Khatib recommended land reform on cooperative principles, urged that various types of cooperative societies be developed throughout Pakistan. This, he said, would foster a raising of the standard of living from the bottom up.

Resolutions were then read for the approval of the assembled throng. One was an appeal to the employers of Pakistan to encourage the spirit of free trade unionism by dealing fairly with real trade unions. Another condemned black-marketeering as "anti-social, anti-national and anti-human." Freedom for the struggling Tunisian patriots was supported in another resolution.

As it had just become night, the meeting was adjourned for ten minutes while the thousands of Muslim workers and their leaders knelt in prayer.

Prayers completed, the meeting resumed with an address by Dr. A. M. Malik, Minister of Labor for Pakistan and himself a labor leader who for years has given service to the seamen of East Pakistan. Dr. Malik, a brilliant, jovial person, noted that the infant nation of Pakistan, since its birth in 1947, had passed through trying days, but now conditions are improving and the government can give greater attention to the problems of labor and industrial relations. Said the Minister of Labor:

"By Allah's grace, since the budget of the Pakistan government became surplus we took up schemes of social uplift. * * * There are people who think that the government is sleeping over these matters, but it is not so.

"We try to progress under great difficulties."

The good Doctor reminded his listeners of the lack of technical experts in Pakistan, the shortage of water in this somewhat desert area, the shortage of machinery and essential supplies, and the hundred and one other problems faced by the new nation and its 80,000,000 inhabitants. And, said the Doctor, with forceful emphasis:

"The government of Pakistan will * * * not tolerate the exploitation of

one class by another, and this applies to both employers and workers."

A warm message of greeting to the meeting from President William Green was then read to the assembly. Other labor leaders of the city spoke briefly to congratulate the workers for the best May Day ever in the history of Karachi labor. Your representative in Pakistan spoke briefly to bring the warm greetings of the 8,000,000 A. F. of L. workers and to drive home the fact that America is great because she has hard-working union men—and promising that strong unions in Pakistan will surely mean prosperity for Pakistan in the future.

The meeting broke up about 8:30, although thousands of workers re-

mained to see free movie shows, some of them American labor films supplied and exhibited through the courtesy of the American embassy in Karachi.

As we left the scene of the meeting, one of the old-time labor leaders said:

"They had a small Communist May Day demonstration in the city today. I hear they had more red flags than workers at the meeting!"

And the fact is that the influence of the Communists and their Cominform stooge organization, the W.F.T.U., is just about nil in Pakistan.

Your correspondent was in Lahore recently to meet labor leaders, visit



Workers of new nation want to attain prosperity in U.S. way, through strong labor movement

unionized factories and electric power stations—and enjoy a temperature of over 110 degrees! While there I inspected the annual convention of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, an affiliate of the W.F.T.U. and local outpost of the Kremlin. A few men and some boys sat around—a clear indication that the P.T.U.F. is a paper organization. The president was not at the meeting, for he had an engagement in Moscow!

PAKISTAN was once a part of India. But when the British were relinquishing power in India, the Muslim leaders in India agreed that India should be divided into two nations. One, called the Republic of India, is predominantly Hindu and contains about 340,000,000 human souls. Pakistan, a unique nation, consists of two portions. One is east of India, is called East Pakistan, and contains about 45,000,000 souls; and then across India, 1,000 miles to the west, is West Pakistan, which contains 35,000,000 more Muslims as well as a small number of Christians, Jews, Parsis and other communities.

Pakistan began under great difficulties, for the factories and main

government and other facilities of the former undivided India remained inside the new India. One government official told me:

"When I arrived in Karachi, we had no files, just pencil and paper. We set up an office in a tent, and that is how the government of Pakistan began."

Today throughout Pakistan there are signs of building—new houses, new business offices, new docks, new everything. One reason for the tremendous construction activity is that after partition from undivided India, Pakistan had a large share of the cotton and the raw jute.

As both bring good prices on the world market, Pakistan has prospered, has a balanced budget and has enjoyed an excellently favorable balance of trade. Today Pakistan is one of the best customers of Japan, and Japan on its side is supplying Pakistan with large shipments of the machinery and electrical equipment which will assist this agricultural country to become an industrial power in Asia.

The first union organized in Karachi was the Karachi Port Trust Labor Union, founded in 1929 under,

I am told, Communist auspices. In 1938 Brothers Khatib and Dave began work on the docks to drive out the Communist misleaders of labor, and in 1941 they founded here the local branch of the Indian Federation of Labor, a non-political trade union organization.

When India was partitioned in 1947, the local branch of the Indian Federation of Labor became the West Pakistan Federation of Labor. The Communists were finally driven out of the labor picture in 1949. The labor movement of Pakistan under the banner of the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor, unlike those of other Asian countries, is strictly non-political.

The labor leaders of Karachi devote their time to practical matters—the solution of grievances, collective bargaining and the perfection of agreements with the employers. There is no time wasted here in celebrating Joseph Stalin's birthday!

It is not insignificant that Karachi led Asia this year in a peaceful May Day—a constructive May Day of rejoicing, love for children and the voicing of democratic aspirations and firm belief in the democratic process.

LABOR AND EDUCATION

By JAMES A. WHITEBONE

President, New Brunswick (Canada) Federation of Labor

IN THIS enlightened and highly competitive age, a thorough education is of paramount importance to every young person starting out in the world to earn a living. The day has passed when the three R's formed all the educational equipment required by a boy or girl entering the labor field.

It is generally accepted nowadays that every boy and girl has the right to an adequate education. Just what constitutes an adequate education is a debatable point. The human element is, of course, an important factor.

Organized labor in Canada has long advocated equal educational opportunities for every boy and girl, regardless of the financial status of the parents, and has urged that facilities be made available for every young person to complete high school,

at least, and that they be enabled to go on to university and higher learning if they have the necessary ability, aptitude and desire for such.

That the campaign has met with considerable success is proved by the ever-increasing numbers of pupils in our high schools and swollen enrollments in every university, such increases being largely made up of sons and daughters of workingmen.

WE HAVE often been asked, "Just what does labor desire or expect in an educational system?" So far as this writer is concerned, the answer has always been the same. We believe the right type of instruction and teacher is the most important requirement in any school.

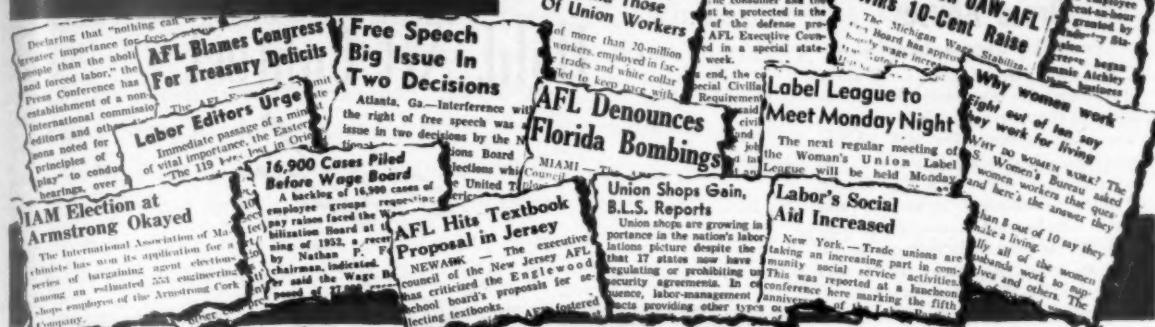
Our schools should be staffed by men and women who have chosen the teaching profession as a career and

have prepared themselves accordingly. They should be compensated in accordance with the importance and dignity of their profession in order that they may maintain a standard of living commensurate with the importance of their calling. Adequate salaries will encourage good teachers to stay with the job and a high type of replacement will be attracted.

We also believe that the school curriculum should be overhauled and brought into line with present-day requirements.

It has been truthfully said that education is everybody's business. Long ago organized labor in Canada and the U. S. adopted education as an important order of business, and our local unions and affiliated organizations stand ready to support fully any and all progressive efforts to promote the education of all the people.

From Other Labor Publications



Warning All Politicians

From The Machinist

Union labor is united in its demand for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is not going to settle for less in this election year.

Organization has been slowed down. Millions of dollars are being spent in lawsuits. Our members have been locked out and forced to strike. Our enemies are able to checkmate almost every move we make by using this legislation which was passed by our enemies for this very purpose.

We said the Taft-Hartley Act was a lemon when it came off the legislative assembly line. Now that we've tried it out, we know we were right.

The men who sold the Taft-Hartley Act would like to talk us into letting them patch it up a little here and there. Well, this time patching isn't going to buy the politicians a thing. Let them admit their mistake and restore the Labor Relations Act which worked so well for so many years.

Election Costs

From The Boilermakers' Journal and The Anvil Chorus

One of the greatest privileges we have under our constitutional rights, to vote and elect our representatives, seemingly is becoming one of the most expensive. In fact, we might as well put our candidates on the block and turn them over to the bidders.

With all the old and new facilities we have today to advertise, the cost of everything doubling, it is not hard to estimate that the 1952 elections will surpass all other years.

In an article in the New York Times Magazine by Senator Benton of Connecticut, he said the Congressional Quarterly reported at least \$10,000,000 was spent to elect the Eighty-second Congress, but adds that "the reported spending is actually far below what it costs to elect many candidates for contested seats." Especially if you compare it with the 1950 election campaign in Ohio.

According to the AFL News-Reporter, for every dollar the A. F. of L. spent in the 1950 Ohio campaign, Senator Taft's supporters spent \$27.

Senator Benton said that "while we have the federal pattern of election laws, the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, these laws

are virtually worthless in setting realistic financial limits upon election campaigns."

This year, added to radio, public appearances and all the literature, we will have television. The cost will be terrific to try and elect an honest representative.

Workers' Health

From The Butcher Workman

Ill-health and satisfying happiness cannot go together. Men tormented by disease seldom are good workers or good human beings. Much of the world's evil springs from the doings of men who are unhealthy, whose physical ill-health produces mental and moral ill-health.

Science has done a great job of improving the health of the world's people during the past 100 years, especially in

Labor's Own Magazine Lauded by Mr. Truman

The President of the United States thinks well of the register-and-vote campaign of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST. In a letter to William Green, editor of labor's monthly magazine, the Chief Executive writes as follows:

Dear Mr. Green:

I have just received a copy of THE FEDERATIONIST urging people to register for the fall election.

I think you are doing a wonderfully patriotic service when you urge people to do their civic duty. Everybody ought to register and vote and then he has a say as to how the government ought to be operated.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

the U.S.A. But there is much more that can and should be done.

Medicine knows almost enough already to keep everybody healthy. But there are not enough physicians, clinics and hospitals to do the job. Moreover, the costs of medical care are still too great for a majority of our people to pay.

So labor unions are pressing health and welfare plans in collective bargaining as a major objective for the years ahead.

Alumni Meeting

From The Journeyman Barber, Hairdresser, Cosmetologist and Proprietor

The afternoon of May 11 the International Barber School Alumni Association held its third annual meeting.

International Vice-President McKenna in the course of his remarks said he never expected to see the day when student barbers would be turned out. In the old days there were no teachers to guide the young barber or professors to teach barber science.

The change that has come over things has been because of the efforts of the international, the largest barber organization in the history of the world, which has concentrated from its beginning on the improvement of the trade.

Acting Together

From Commercial Telegraphers' Journal

Union bargaining with the boss for higher wages is only one phase of collective bargaining. We can use our united power to keep those higher wages in our pockets. Thousands of us banded together could—if we wanted to—use our collective bargaining power in spending those wages as well as in getting them.

A good many unions are beginning to exploit this phase of their collective bargaining power. The Chicago Teachers, for instance, have set up a buying service for their members. Through arrangements with a number of retail stores, members of their union get a 15 to 40 per cent discount.

The fame of Labor Health Service in St. Louis is widespread. The Union Optical Center in Chicago is just beginning to receive patients, with 60,000 Chicago union members using their collective bargaining power to set it up. There are many union

projects of this type in New York City.

Press Abuses

From The Unionist (Omaha)

There are glaring examples of abuse of freedom of the press by the majority of the newspapers in this nation. They have mastered the "art" of misquotation, innuendo, inferences and misplacing of words to a high degree.

Such publications sometimes may make half-hearted apologies or corrections, but very often they use double talk to make it appear as if they were right in the first instance.

Freedom of the press and freedom of speech are precious possessions. No patriotic citizen would want any of our freedoms destroyed. However, everyone has a moral obligation to respect those freedoms.

Millions of citizens have lost confidence in much of the press of this nation. The newspapers have brought this on themselves. Only they can correct it.

Stop, Look and Listen

From The Painter and Decorator

Can it be that we Americans, who have developed the most perfect so-called "machine civilization" and the most wonderful inventions for human comfort—can it be that we are headed on the wrong road and for disaster?

A minister speaking over the radio some time ago said:

"I am not so worried about the radicals in America, but I am more concerned about the indifferent people in this country, those who are too busy making money and having a good time to worry about anything else."

The pioneers were a hard-working, God-fearing class of people who cleared the land, tilled the soil, raised their families and lived in contentment. Nobody ever dreamed of getting rich quick. Then the machine civilization crept into this happy land and everybody dreamed of getting rich. Instead of being a hardy bunch of people such as our forefathers and the pioneers were, we are slowly becoming a country of pill-eaters.

Have we absorbed only material gains and neglected the spiritual values? Are we neglecting to take care of our precious land and those resources we have inherited from our forefathers? Are we neglecting to take care of our people's health?

The ancient nations which were once so powerful and where the rulers drank deep—what are they today? They have turned into deserts where the lizard and jackal rule. Had those peoples of old only listened to the wise men. No, no! Those seers were driven out and stamped as rabble-rousers and alarmists.

Are we in America making the same mistake?

It's time to stop, look and listen.

A. F. of L. Seafarers Hold Art Contest



UNION seamen include some remarkable artists. This was proved last month when the Seafarers International Union of the American Federation of Labor held its first annual art contest. Some seventy works sent in by



Top photo—Union members read sign telling them about the exhibit. Bottom photo—The judges look over the entries and make notes. Picking winners was difficult

members of the organization were on exhibit from May 19 to May 23 in the library of the S.I.U.'s headquarters in Brooklyn. The entries were viewed and praised by enthusiastic S.I.U. men and members of the general public.

The judges said there were so many excellent works that they had serious difficulty in choosing only three prize-winners in each of four categories.

There was no lack of variety in the entries. Subjects treated were ships, women, landscapes and many others.

The panel of judges who passed on the entries consisted of Ham Fisher, who draws "Joe Palooka"; Walt Kelly, creator of "Pogo"; John I. H. Baur, curator of the Brooklyn Museum, and Bernard Seaman, labor cartoonist.

Dr. Baur, who has seen thousands of professional works of art in the course of his career as a museum curator, said that most of the entries of the A. F. of L. seafaring men had a strikingly original flavor.

Walter Schnyder took the first prize in oils. Watercolor honors went to John Bluit. Private Christopher Alonzo captured the first prize in drawing, while

Philip Reyes was the best in the miscellaneous division.

Winners of the second and third prizes in the various categories were:

Oils—Leif Hope, second prize; Mariano Gonzales, third prize.

Watercolors—C. D. Gould, second prize; Emigdio Reyes, third prize.

Drawings—Bert Shannon, second prize; John Suutari, third prize.

Miscellaneous—John Taurin, second prize; Don Benson, third prize.

Amid applause, the winners of the contest were announced—and those present were introduced—at the headquarters membership meeting May 21.



Entries get the once-over from S.I.U. men

Art of Seafarers was on view for five days



John Suutari at left, Walter Schnyder at right. Schnyder took first prize for an oil painting. Middle man's Herb Brand, editor of union paper



Delegates from every section of Iowa attended the recent convention of the State Federation of Labor

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Dave Beck, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and E. M. Weston, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor, together with Walter Pidgeon of Hollywood fame, were the principal guests and speakers when the Seattle Central Labor Council celebrated its golden jubilee. Congressman Hugh B. Mitchell and a host of other prominent figures were present.

►More than 1,000 attended the sixteenth annual dinner, entertainment and dance of Local 1049 of the Retail Clerks, Newark, N. J. Mayor Ralph Villani and other civic leaders were present. So was Louis Marciante, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

►Local 1035 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers has paid tribute to Thomas Guastella, financial secretary, for twenty-five years of active and devoted membership. The seat of Local 1035 is Jamaica, Queens County, New York.

►Enthusiasm was at a high pitch at the recent annual convention of the Louisiana State Journeymen Barbers Association, held at Baton Rouge. The number of local unions in the state has increased greatly over the past few years, it was reported.

►Local 56 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, in a "convention style" meeting at Atlantic City, called for inclusion of farm workers in the coverage

of federal labor laws. Continued support of Labor's League for Political Education was voted. The local's membership is at a peak of 5,000.



Able bowlers represent the Oakland, Calif., A. F. of L. Labor Temple



Minnesota Federation of Labor puts considerable emphasis on public relations, as this display shows

►Local 6, Boston, of the Office Employees has recently won N.L.R.B. elections at Hunt-Spiller Manufacturing Company, Dartmouth Shoe Company and C. B. Fleming and Company.

►Local 144, Chemical Workers, has won 10½ cents more per hour and other gains at the Westvaco Chemical Division of Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation, Carteret, N. J.

►Arthur White of Warren and Richard Y. Wasserott of Lancaster have been reelected as president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the Pennsylvania State Council of Machinists. The annual meeting of the Council was held in Philadelphia.

►Local 257 of the Post Office Clerks, Syracuse, N. Y., has launched an educational campaign to acquaint the public with union information.

►The Hotel and Restaurant Employees at Hibbing, Minn., have won a retroactive wage increase and shorter hours at the Androy Hotel. Other gains include two extra paid holidays and twelve days sick leave.

►The Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Pacific Maritime Association, Oakland, Calif., have negotiated a new contract calling for a pay raise, the 40-hour week and longer vacations.

Spring dance of the Washington, D. C., local of the Office Employees was a treat for all who took part



The Forgotten Consumer

(Continued from Page 11)

to April, 1952, wholesale textile prices increased about 6 per cent, but retail clothing prices increased almost 10 per cent. The main reason for this was that from March, 1951, to April, 1952, while textile prices were dropping by almost 14 per cent, the decrease in clothing prices was only two-tenths of 1 per cent.

An even more pronounced difference is to be seen in the movement of prices for leather products and shoes. From January, 1950, to April, 1952, wholesale prices of hides, skins and leather products actually decreased by 2.2 per cent. But the prices you pay when you go into the shoe store increased by 14 per cent.

These figures indicate very clearly what has been happening. While wholesale prices have dropped slightly in recent months, consumers have not had the benefit of these decreases in the retail prices they have had to pay. The net result has been that for the entire period since January, 1950, retail prices have increased more than wholesale prices. Incidentally, all recent signs point to a resumption of the upward trend in both wholesale and retail prices. This can only mean more bad news for the consumer.

These things don't just happen that way. The groundwork for them was laid by the inadequacies of the Defense Production Act, as it was originally enacted in 1950, and the emasculating amendments which have been added to it since then.

In the first place, the act provided no effective way for controlling food prices by providing that food prices could only be controlled for those items which were below the so-called parity price or below the pre-Korean level. Since prices of few foods have fallen to these levels, we have had extremely ineffective control of food prices. By April of this year food prices were 17.3 per cent above the January, 1950, level.

Congress also made sure that prices would continue to rise by inserting special provisions in the act to guarantee higher prices to manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers. There were the Capehart and Herlong amendments passed in the summer of 1951.

The Capehart amendment guarantees manufacturers increases in their price ceilings based on any and all increases in costs before July 26, 1951. It has resulted in price increases of more than one billion dollars. It represents an unwarranted departure from the American tradition of lowering prices through increased efficiency and introduction of new methods and techniques.

The Herlong amendment guarantees wholesalers and retailers their pre-Korean percentage mark-up regardless of the fact that a lower margin might be fair and equitable. Right now it is resulting in increased price ceilings in grocery stores all over the nation for a large number of food products. The price increases apply to such everyday essentials as breakfast cereals, canned fruits and vegetables, jams and jellies, canned meat and oleomargarine.

Not content with these price-pushing, profit-guaranteeing amendments, the special interests have put on a tremendous drive to wipe out all controls. In an attempt to stave off this no-holds-barred campaign, the Office of Price Stabilization has suspended controls on raw cotton, textiles, hides, leather products, lard and a number of other items. This means that even if price controls remain on the books, consumers may be unprotected against a sudden increase in prices on these important items.

The trouble is that the consumer's interest is too often ignored when basic legislation affecting every family in the nation is being considered. The recent hearings on renewal of the Defense Production Act illustrate very well the short shrift which the consumer frequently gets from Congress.

As has happened when many other important bills were being considered, Washington was invaded by a swarm of lobbyists and pleaders for Big Business interests whose single objective was to wipe out anti-inflation controls.

Day after day, witness after witness got up before the Senate and House committees considering renewal of the Defense Production Act and presented testimony filling literally hundreds of pages. They urged

complete abolition of all controls or, at the very least, removal of any controls which in any way might hamper the ability of the interests they represented to make unlimited profits.

These spokesmen for business interests received a very friendly reception. In fact, some of the Senators and Congressmen fell all over themselves to put helpful questions to them which might fill in any gaps they might have had in their prepared testimony.

Only the spokesmen of organized labor and a handful of representatives of consumer groups appeared to ask Congress to provide the necessary tools for staving off a new inflationary spiral. These spokesmen for the consumers of this nation—for all 156,000,000 of us—were all but ignored by most of the Senators and Congressmen. Indeed, some of the consumer spokesmen were given a very hostile reception.

Apparently, many of the Senators and Congressmen simply could not understand how it was that a representative of consumers could be appearing to testify on this legislation. They felt that consumers could have nothing to say about a question which, to their minds, was of concern only to the spokesmen for Big Business. Some of the representatives of consumers found themselves being questioned as to what right they had to testify on the legislation.

Apparently, these men whom we have elected to represent all the people have forgotten about the millions of consumers in this country. They were shocked to realize that somebody had remembered them.

This spectacle of disdain for the average American on the part of some of the men he has elected to Congress is unfortunately nothing new on Capitol Hill. The same story could be told about tax legislation, housing legislation, anti-monopoly legislation and all the other legislation which determines for millions of American families whether they are to be burdened with low wages, high prices, unfair taxation and slum housing or have the opportunity to maintain an adequate standard of living and a decent home life.

With the woeful lack of representation which consumers have had in Congress, it is little wonder that consumers have fared so badly during

the defense period. While every attempt has been made to keep a tight lid on wages—and for the most part these efforts have been successful—prices which consumers have to pay for everyday necessities have soared.

Will consumers' interests and needs continue to be ignored? Or is there a chance that consumers can organize to defend themselves against the relentless assaults of the special pleaders for Big Business interests?

The answer lies with consumers themselves. For many years organ-

ized labor has been trying to do the whole job in behalf of consumers. Except for occasional efforts by representatives of cooperatives, women's groups and other civic groups, it is labor which has most effectively represented the consumers' interest.

It is quite natural that labor has espoused the consumers' cause. The 8,000,000 members of the A. F. of L. alone represent some 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 consumers in this country. Labor knows that, unless prices are kept in check, what may be added

to the pay envelope can be taken away at the grocery store. Labor knows the importance of holding down disastrous inflationary rises in prices.

But labor cannot do this whole job alone. The housewives, small businessmen, professional people and farmers have a common interest with labor in meeting the essential needs of consumers.

When all of these groups act together, the forgotten consumer will at last be remembered.

Why the Double Standard?

By ANNA P. KELSEY, *President, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor*

WHY is it that, even though the women's auxiliaries of the various unions have been set up and are conducted so as to try to create the greatest good for the worker, membership in the women's auxiliaries is usually small?

Why is it that, while most men think and feel that their union is a most important part of their lives, they won't let their wives enjoy their section of the union movement, the auxiliary?

Why is it that, while most wives encourage their husbands to attend the meetings of their unions, when the wife wants to go to auxiliary meeting he often has "something else" planned?

Why is it that, when wife wants a night out for herself so she can attend her auxiliary meeting, some husbands make such a fuss that wife says she would rather stay home than put up with it?

Why is it that some union men think they can take care of all union work necessary, when they should

realize that trade unionism is a job for the whole family?

Why is it that when a man joins the union, no provision is made at the same time for the man's wife to join her own section of that union, the women's auxiliary?

EVERY sincere union person wants organized labor to be strong, to be understood, and to be worthy. Yet we do not even try to promote organized labor in the very place where it could be most influential—in the home.

There is little use saying husbands can teach their families about unionism when so many men take unionism for granted or are too tired when they come home at night to talk about it or find it hard to explain when they do not understand it too well themselves.

It is selfishness, pure and simple, on any union member's part if he or she doesn't give the rest of the family a fair chance to share in protecting their welfare. Housewives

must understand the forces at work for and against us and the resources with which we can build.

Education must be our keynote just as organization is the cornerstone of unionism. It is only in proportion to the general education of the whole family that we can expect to progress.

I heard President Green say one time at a convention:

"Through this work of education much latent ability is to be developed into active use and service. The net result is that the cause of the worker is being intelligently strengthened, educationally and economically."

Wonderful leadership like President Green's is not enough, however, to insure security unless the general membership of the American Federation of Labor takes note of his advice and then follows it.

No woman can have that feeling of *individual responsibility* toward her husband's union until she is fully acquainted with its importance and its workings. The choice is ours. Either we progress or we stagnate.

The Council

(Continued from Page 6)

"In this day and age," the president of the A. F. of L. said, "there is no such thing as a 'purely political' issue. Every political question has bread-and-butter economic implications and consequences—consequences which affect the welfare of every man, woman and child in this country."

Mr. Green assailed neutrality as an

abomination and inaction as a vice.

"To be neutral in politics is to be impotent in politics," he said. "Non-partisanship does not mean neutrality. It means only that we must direct our strength to the support of principles rather than parties as such."

Taking cognizance of reported attempts by racketeers and gangsters to invade a few unions, the Executive Council established a special committee to investigate. The American Federation of Labor will expect any

abuses found by the committee to be eliminated promptly. The Council indicated that the A. F. of L. is determined to protect its good name and is prepared to take whatever action may be deemed necessary for such protection.

The Executive Council decided to hold its next meeting, at which the report to the September convention will be drafted, at Atlantic City, beginning August 11. This year's convention will be in New York.

WHAT THEY SAY

Harvey W. Brown, former president, International Association of Machinists—



Recently I read a newspaper article containing excerpts from Herbert Hoover's writings. Hoover is playing on the young voters, those who were

too young in 1932 to remember or understand the causes that set in motion business stagnation and closing of the banks. The Old Guard is desperate. Examine the file of the newspaper *Labor* for the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 and up to the time Hoover stepped out, March 4, 1933, and I am sure you will find information about bank failures, business firms going under and farms lost because of inability to meet mortgage payments—all of which would make a suitable reply to Hoover. If Hoover is not answered, he will have many of the unthinking young voters believing the Hooverites are their saviors. If Herbert Hoover is exposed promptly, he may pull in his horns. God help us if the Old Guard takes over again.

John E. Rooney, president, Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association—



If those with their thumbs on the political pulse of America are agreed upon one thing, it is that American voters this year will demand clean political candidates. They are demanding an end to the "smoke-filled rooms" out of which too many candidates—national, state and local—have come in the past. Measuring the patient's blood pressure, the political pundits are agreed that the voter will blow his top this year unless he is offered something besides party hacks to choose from. As much or more than any other segment of the population, organized labor has a vital interest in seeing that clean

candidates appear on the ballot. Labor naturally doesn't want labor-haters or labor-baiters on the ballot. Labor will be content if it gets clean candidates, for the clean candidate, if elected, can be depended on to give everyone a fair deal. The clean candidate should not be an abject servant of either labor or management or of any group. He should be able to listen to both sides of a question, then cast his vote on the merits of the case. In this matter of getting clean candidates, Labor's League for Political Education is playing a new and strengthened role. We sincerely believe it is having a beneficial influence in American politics, for it is trying to get the best men to run. If you believe in this work of L.L.P.E., send in that dollar membership today!

Patrick E. Gorman, secretary, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen—



The significance of a convention of labor cannot be over-emphasized. If the very disturbed peoples of the earth could be permitted to

sit in on a convention and listen, the plan of organized labor could serve as a pattern in world affairs. The latter part of this month the eighteenth general convention of our international union will be held in San Francisco. In this convention the sons of immigrants to this great land of ours from most of the nations on earth will be seated in the same hall. These 900 delegates will not be thinking in terms of nationalities or religions. They will be sitting side by side as brothers and sisters, having but one purpose in mind—to make the world a better place to live for those engaged in toil. For fifty-two years our union has been preaching the gospel that all men are created equal, that we all are brothers in blood, working together, striving together, each for the benefit of the other and each for the benefit of all. If this doctrine of organized labor

were adopted tomorrow by the nations of the world, war, hate, intolerance and cheating would disappear quickly from our troubled little globe. Organized labor, through its liberal, brotherly attitude, has been a bright beam of light which is heart-warming and soul-warming to its more than fifteen million members.

Daniel J. Tobin, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters—



No matter how difficult things get in life, it is well to remember that they could always be worse. The trouble with the average human is that he only looks at the little mis-

fortunes and seldom acknowledges the little blessings. It seems we are living in an age of discontent, spread throughout the world. I have recently had an experience with a man whose case I regard as tragic. He found fault with his local, the labor movement and was always looking for a chance to throw a few knocks at the international. This fellow had started from nothing and attained a position of good pay and responsibility, but he persisted in finding fault. He was chronically discontented. I am sorry to say he has been stricken with an ailment from which he may not recover. Now, looking back, this man can see where he failed to enjoy the blessings he had. Now that it is too late, he can see where his attitude prevented him from having the measure of happiness which could have been his. Such a tragedy can happen to any of us if we do not guard against a constant state of grouching and discontent. We can be cheerful, or at least make an effort at it. We can say a helpful word to the other fellow. We can be grateful for good health and for loved ones. Each day we should look around us and note how the books balance. Most of us will find we probably have received more blessings than we have earned.

We Have the Votes
LET'S USE THEM

Future Plans

THE last days of school are always so filled with extras that it is difficult for anyone to keep his mind on his work.

"Even though nothing is normal, I guess we'll get through the next few days and have a good graduating class and the usual fond farewells and broken romances," said Miss Cavanaugh to her co-worker, Miss White, as they ate their lunch in the school cafeteria.

"It is certainly a time of change for these youngsters," said Miss White.

"Yes, high school is very different from junior high school, and many of them will have to make new friends and form new school relationships, which is all to the good, I think," Miss Cavanaugh said.

"I agree. And speaking of change, what are you planning to do this summer?"

"First of all, I think I'll sleep for a week."

"Oh, Miss White, you are just the one we are looking for!" gasped Carmen, as she came running up to the teachers' table. "Have you a minute? Ada and I want to talk to you for a few minutes if we can."

"Of course. What is it, girls?"

"And, please, Miss Cavanaugh, could you stay and listen, too?" said Ada. "We need advice."

"We're on the committee of the Junior Union with the all-inclusive name of 'Summer Activities,'" began Carmen.

"And that means for the whole summer," added Ada.

"I understand," said Miss White, who had been chosen as their faculty adviser the fall before.

"The problem we have is that we are not all going to be back here in junior high in September," said Carmen. "In fact, most of us are entering high school, and that leaves the bunch here more or less at loose ends or something. That's our problem."

"And here is as much of the solu-

tion as we have managed to work out," said Ada. "Three of us are leaving—Carmen, Rick Jackson and myself. Rick is on the committee with us. That leaves Del Delafield and Sue Marshall, who will be in ninth grade, and Lindy Cartone and Marie Blazier, who will be in eighth grade. The new ones who will enter junior high, of course, we don't know as yet."

"Which, in effect, leaves only four members of a committee of seven who will be back here in school in the fall," summed up Miss Cavanaugh.

"Have you had a full committee meeting?" Miss White asked.

Ada shook her head.

"Rick has been in rehearsal for the school play every time we try to arrange a meeting and so has Carmen. Then when they aren't in rehearsal I am—for the evening of music. I have to play the violin part of the time and I accompany Betty for her solos. So I haven't been free either."

"I wonder if we should resign from the committee so that some other ninth graders can be put on," said Carmen. "They will be coming back."

Now Ada spoke again.

"Carmen and Rick are going to City High and I am going to Business High. So we won't even be thinking about the same things ourselves when school begins."

"You see, Miss White, we do have a problem," Carmen concluded.

"If I may have a few minutes to give this some thought," Miss White said, "I'm sure we can work out something. But right now may I suggest that you girls don't worry too much about it? We can have a meeting right after school is out. It really isn't the end of the world, you know. Ask the full committee if they can meet at my house on Saturday after school closes. We can talk it over and come to some conclusion."

"Thank goodness it's you and not I, the Saturday after school closes," said Miss Cavanaugh. "I'm going to be sleeping that morning."

"Oh, I'll wager you'll join us," said Miss White. "In fact, I'm counting on you to help us."

The bell for classes pealed through the building. Teachers and students hurried off to their respective classrooms.

As Miss White suggested, not much thought was given to anything other than the activities for the end of school. And finally graduation night arrived. That was Wednesday night. The girls and boys took part in the thrilling ceremonies, and the teachers breathed a sigh of relief as the last diploma was given out, and the graduating class of the junior high school stood ready for vacation before entering high school.

Thursday there was a teachers' meeting, and Friday the school building was deserted except for the caretakers and janitors. They were cleaning up and readying the building for the summer holiday closing.

On Saturday morning the Junior Union committee met at Miss White's house. Suddenly, coming up the walk, there was Miss Cavanaugh.

"We thought you were going to sleep for a week," said Ada.

"Yes, I had intended to," she admitted, smiling, "but I decided to come here. I've been asked to be your adviser for next year. So I should find out what I'm in for."

"You're in for one of the finest experiences of your career," said Miss White with enthusiasm. "It will make you a better member of the American Federation of Teachers after you see what these Junior Unionists do, and it is a wonderful thing for them to have a bonafide union member as their adviser, too. And after this meeting, if you aren't too wideawake and full of zest, you may go back home and get that week's sleep you've been talking about."

"I'll get it so I'll be able to carry on where you leave off, Miss White," said Miss Cavanaugh, smiling. "And now let's get down to business."



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